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PAUL AND THE WOMEN
AND
OTHER DISCOURSES.

J. B. HAWTHORNE, D.D.

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PAUL AND THE WOMEN

—AND—

OTHER DISCOURSES.

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J. B. HAWTHORNE, D.D.
ATLANTA, GA. *

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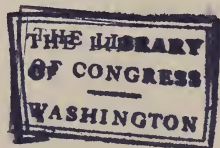
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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
PAUL AND THE WOMEN.....	1
CONTENDING FOR THE FAITH.....	33
HEART AND LIFE; OR, THE PHILOSOPHY OF MORAL ACTION.....	59
SHOULD THE STATE LEGALIZE THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC?.....	81
THE ETHICAL FEATURES OF THE TARIFF AND LABOR QUESTIONS.....	111

PAUL AND THE WOMEN.

Paul and the Women.

DO THE SCRIPTURES PERMIT WOMEN TO SPEAK IN MIXED ASSEMBLIES?

“ Let your women keep silence in the churches : for it is not permitted unto them to speak ; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law.

“ And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home ; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.

“ What ! came the word out from you ? or came it unto you only ?

“ If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.

“ But if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.”
—I. Cor. xiv : 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.

“ Let the women learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.

“ For Adam was first formed, then Eve.

“ And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression.”

—I. Tim. ii : 11, 12, 13, 14.

IN THE providence of God I have been placed in the position of spiritual adviser and teacher to this congregation of Christian men and women. I am called by the spirit of God and the suffrages of this people to expound to them the teachings of the sacred Scriptures. My commission requires me to instruct, to exhort, to comfort, and rebuke. This is what God demands, and what you have a right to expect of me. Occupying this responsible and sacred position, I claim your respectful and devout attention this morning, while I attempt to set before you the teachings of the divine Word upon a subject of vital importance to the order, peace, and welfare of the churches of Jesus Christ.

The question which you have requested me to discuss is, "Do the Scriptures Forbid Women to Speak in Mixed Assemblies?" By mixed assemblies is meant public gatherings composed of men and women.

I feel that I owe to this congregation and community an explanation of my conduct in reference to this important matter. No man is more indebted to Christian women than I. No man in the gospel ministry has been more helped by them. They have understood me better than men. They have never misinterpreted my motives. They have always appreciated the difficulties and embarrassments connected with my work, and have given me their profoundest sympathy in every conflict with error and ungodliness. When the whisky rings and their hirelings sought to destroy me, the Christian women of this land stood by me with dauntless devotion.

Remembering these things, my sympathies have been with the women whenever they have met the opposition of men in any of their undertakings. I have almost assumed that in any conflict between men and women, the women were right.

If through God's infinite mercy I am

ever permitted to see the face of the apostle Paul, I shall feel that I owe him an humble apology for having many times tried to believe, that in some unaccountable way he had made a prodigious mistake, and inflicted upon woman a cruel injustice in forbidding her to speak in the church. My sympathies, my prejudices, and three-fourths of my reading and thinking have been on the woman's side of this question. But the conflict is over. After a long and painful struggle I have made an unconditional surrender to conscience, and Paul, and the Holy Ghost.

While my convictions of truth compel me to oppose the good women who differ with me on this subject, such is my regard and affection for them that I am utterly incapable of doing them intentional injustice or of wilfully wounding their feelings. I trust that enough of the old spirit of chivalry lingers in my heart to enable me to accord to them all that integrity of purpose which I claim for myself.

What do the Scriptures teach upon this subject? The discussion must be limited to this single question. Your feelings, the opinions of men, and the spirit of the nineteenth century cannot be admitted into this controversy. It is a subject upon which God has spoken, and we cannot array human opinion or human feeling against his truth without aligning ourselves with Robert Ingersoll and his followers.

A distinguished Methodist minister said to me a few days ago: "The Baptists have less government than any denomination of Christians in the world, and yet they are more united than any other Christian people." After thanking him for the compliment, I told him that the secret of this unity was that no Baptist, on any question, would ever appeal from the Bible. When he finds a "thus saith the Lord" he will stand like Athenasius against the world.

On the question now before us we find in this "Book by inspiration given"

a thus saith the Lord. "Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak." By these words Baptists have stood through all the centuries of their existence, and by them they will continue to stand "till time's last thunder shakes the world."

It gratifies me to be able to say that Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists and Lutherans, are in the main just as loyal to this command as Baptists.

I will state briefly some of the objections which are urged against the most obvious meaning of Paul's command.

1. It is claimed by some, not many, that the apostle did not intend to forbid women to take part in any SERIOUS discussion, but to prohibit them from indulging in IDLE CHATTER. It was the habit of women then, and it is in some places now, when they got together in a public meeting, to indulge in a great deal of chit chat or small talk. It is claimed by a few hard-pressed champions of a feeble

cause, that it was this that Paul meant to forbid.

In answering this view, Dr. Broadus, one of the greatest teachers of New Testament Greek, says: "The word which commonly means to talk, to speak, is sometimes used in classical Greek for chattering, and is sometimes applied to animals. But there are no clear examples of any such use in Biblical Greek, and the word is applied to apostles, Saviour, God."

If there is any authority for translating the Greek so as to make the passage read, "It is not permitted unto them to CHATTER," there is the same authority for saying that Paul CHATTERED to the Athenians or that Christ CHATTERED to the multitudes.

2. Others claim that Paul's prohibition is limited to speaking in the church, and that while it would be unlawful for a woman to speak in a church, it is permissible in a prayer-meeting. In answer to

this it is sufficient to say, that a meeting of this congregation for prayer is just as much a meeting of the church as a meeting to hear the preaching of the gospel. The word church was applied by the New Testament writers to meetings in private houses. It is not necessary for us to come into this building to have a meeting of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta. The same persons gathered together in any private house of this city for religious worship would be the First Baptist Church.

3. There are some who contend that Paul could not have forbidden women to speak upon religious subjects in meetings of the church, because there were prophetesses in those days, and such were allowed to speak.

That there were females among the early Christian churches who corresponded to those known among the Jews as prophetesses is admitted ; but there is no conclusive evidence to show that either

Christian or Jewish prophetesses delivered their prophecies before public assemblies.

In Corinthians, 11th chapter, Paul says: "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth, having her head uncovered, dishonoreth her head."

Dr. Gill says there is nothing in this passage which shows that women spoke in the meetings of the Corinthian church either in prayer or by way of instruction or exhortation, and that it means nothing more than that they joined the minister in prayer, and sung the praises of God with the congregation. Singing the prophetic psalms was sometimes called prophesying.

But, if we admit that the passage does imply that women prayed and spoke publicly in the Corinthian church, we know that it does not imply that the apostle approved of the custom. His immediate object here is not to consider whether the

practice is itself right, but to condemn the manner of the performance as a violation of all the rules of propriety and subordination.

On another occasion, in this very epistle, he fully condemns the practice in any form, and enjoins silence on the female members of the church in public meetings.

That Corinthian church was a very disorderly body. It was a disgrace to the cause of Christ. It was full of heresy and wrangling and vice. Its observance of the Lord's Supper had degenerated into a scene of gluttony and drunkenness. Its worship was characterized by confusion, immodesty, and irreverence.

The apostle is trying to correct these disorders. He is showing them how to be decent and modest and devout in their public meetings. He gives special attention to the women, who seem to have been the greatest offenders, and concludes by saying : "Let your women keep silence in the churches. * * * It is a shame for women to speak in the church."

Let us suppose that Paul did permit women to deliver their prophecies before mixed assemblies. We know that he did not permit them to TEACH on such occasions. He wrote to Timothy: "Let the women learn in silence in all modesty. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." If he permitted them to prophesy, but not to TEACH, there must have been some radical difference between the office of the prophet and that of the teacher. What was that difference? The prophet was a revelator. He revealed things concerning the past, the present, or the future, which were hidden from the world. He was simply a mouth-piece for God. He said nothing on his own responsibility. He simply uttered what God had spoken to him.

The function of the teacher was to expound what had been revealed, to explain, to make clear to the church the meaning of God's revealed will.

Now, sometimes the two offices were performed by the same person ; but if women were forbidden to TEACH, it follows that the function of the prophetess was limited to revealing mysteries.

We cannot fail to see the conclusion to which this brings us. If Paul permitted women to speak in the churches of his day, the privilege was limited to those who had the gift of prophecy—those to whom God made known secrets that hitherto were hid in the great deep of His own mind. And if the speaking of women in meetings of the church was confined to those who had the gift of prophecy, then women of THIS day are not scripturally qualified to speak to the church because they have not the gift of prophecy.

Do the women of this day who go into mixed assemblies and speak claim to be prophets ? Do they claim that what they say is a revelation from God ? If they do, and their claim be true, their utterances should be written down and incor-

porated with the other Sacred Scriptures. If they are indeed prophets, inspired and accredited as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Peter, Paul and John were, then we have abundant material to make a new Bible every week.

But are they prophets? They cannot be if Paul has spoken the mind of God. What does he say? In immediate connection with these words forbidding women to speak in the church, he says: "If any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual let him acknowledge that the things which I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord."

But that is just what the women-preachers will not acknowledge. They stubbornly declare that what Paul wrote upon this subject is not "the commandment of the Lord." Some of them say that he was a dissatisfied and crabbed old bachelor who was prejudiced against women, and imposed this restriction upon them only to show his dislike of them.

Others say that they know that in this matter he did not write the commandment of God, because his prohibitory law is contradicted by their own spiritual impressions and illuminations. He makes the acknowledgment of his inspiration the test of their claim not only to the gift of prophecy, but to any spiritual gift. They may sincerely believe themselves to be spiritual, but if they refuse to acknowledge his authority, he says they are not spiritual.

Now where there is this conflict between Paul and the women what shall I do? What ought I to do? The Lord knows how distressful it is to me not to go with the women. Without their sympathy and friendship this world would be to me a solitude. But having Adam's experience before me, how foolish it would be for me to follow these daughters of Eve in violating a law as simple and legible as God could make it?

4. The position on which the advocates of this new doctrine and practice rely

more than any other, and to which they cling with the greatest persistence, is that the law which Paul lays down in his letter to the Corinthians was intended only for the Corinthian church—that it was purely a local regulation made necessary by a peculiar and exceptional state of things among the Christians of Corinth.

This position is utterly untenable. Any one can see at a single glance that Paul did not make this law for the Corinthian women only. He wrote the same thing to Timothy that he might apply it to the churches in the region about Ephesus.

In his letter to Timothy he assigns two reasons for not permitting women to teach and pray in a mixed assembly.

1. "For Adam was first formed, then Eve." Now the Corinthians were not the only people in the world who had descended from Adam and Eve. All nations, kindreds, tongues and tribes have descended from Adam and Eve. I trust that the people of Atlanta, and especially

the members of the First Baptist Church, have not ceased to believe that even they are descendants of Adam and Eve. I entreat these female apostles of the new Gospel and new dispensation to permit us to hold on to that much of the old Bible.

If we have descended from Adam and Eve, then Paul's law forbidding women to speak before mixed assemblies was not local, and is binding on the women of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta.

"Adam was first formed." The man was formed out of the dust of the earth. The woman was formed out of the man. She was formed for him, for his help and companionship. Here lies the strength of the reason which the apostle gives for the divine law that the woman shall be in subjection to the man. She is to be in subjection to the man not so much because she was made after the man, for she and the man were both created after the beasts of the field, but because she was made out of the man and for him.

So the woman's subjection to the man is according to the laws of nature and creation.

Now, Paul says that when a woman goes into a church and teaches or preaches in the presence of men, she reverses God's order and violates the laws of her own nature and creation. "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor usurp authority over the man." Teaching implies authority over those who are taught, and as a woman has not, according to God's economy, authority over man, she is not permitted to stand up in a public assembly and teach him. God knows that millions of women have the ability to teach men; but he does not permit them to do it, at least in a public way, because it has the appearance of authority.

2. The second reason which Paul had for prohibiting women from speaking in mixed assemblies was "That Adam was not deceived: but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." If that

was a sufficient reason for not permitting women to speak in the church in Corinth, it is a sufficient reason for the same regulation in the First Baptist Church of Atlanta. The women to whom I speak to-day are just as much involved in the consequences of Eve's conduct as the women to whom Paul spoke and wrote.

“Our mother took the poisonous cup and tainted all our blood.”

“Adam was not deceived.” This positive assertion is to be taken without any limitations or qualifications. Adam was not deceived at all. He was not deceived by the serpent with whom he had not talked, nor was he deceived by his wife. He knew what he was doing. He knew what would be the consequences of eating the forbidden fruit. He understood God's law. He knew that the violation of it would bring death to him, to Eve, and all their countless posterity. He ate because his wife had eaten it and become mortal, and he loved her so well that he

would rather die with her than be left alone in the world.

Inasmuch as he sinned wilfully, and against light and knowledge, without any deception, his sin was greater than hers and his punishment more severe.

But the woman was deceived. She really thought the serpent spoke the truth, and that she and her husband should not die if they ate of the fruit.

“And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not die : for God doth know that in the day that ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.” That was what caught the dear woman. She wanted to know as much as God, so that she might be independent of him. That was what caught her, and there she has shown her weakness ever since. She wants to know too much. She is restive under a sense of her inferiority to any one. Out of this natural weakness grows her insubordination to Paul.

She was caught not only by what she heard, but by what she saw. "And when the woman saw that the tree was good, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took the fruit thereof and did eat."

When a woman looks upon a thing and is pleased with it, charmed by it, she believes it to be right, no matter what the authorities say about it. Bear with me gentle sisters while I suggest some of the natural infirmities of your sex. The infirmities of your brothers are much more serious.

In these latter days, when, according to prophecy, all manner of strange things must occur, it has appeared unto some women that it would be pleasant and beautiful for them to step out of their divinely appointed sphere, and do some of the things which God has committed solely to the hands of men. Some invisible artist has set before their mind's eye

pictures of women in the pulpit, women on the rostrum, women at the ballot-box, women on the judge's bench, and women in the halls of congress.

These pictures have charmed them, bewitched them, and thus deceived, they have reached the conclusion that the Bible and God's order need amendment: and one of the amendments which they propose is, to strike out from the Divine Book Paul's words forbidding a woman to speak in the church.

Paul bases this law upon the fact that the man was not deceived but the woman was deceived. Well, what has that to do with a woman's preaching? It has a great deal to do with it. Basing his prohibitory law upon the fact that she was deceived, he means that a creature who can be made to believe that a law signifies something radically different from its obvious meaning, or that it is wise and good in some things to disobey the Almighty, cannot be safely intrusted with the office of the Christian ministry.

The danger is that she will misconstrue God's revealed will, or set it aside altogether where it does not harmonize with her feelings and ambitions. It was one of the old Rabbinnical sayings, "Burn the Book of Law rather than put it into the hands of a woman."

There were three parties concerned in the first transgression—the Serpent, Adam, and Eve. They were all punished, but not in the same way, nor in the same degree.

God said unto the serpent, "Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed. * * Upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life ; and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel."

The curse that God put upon the serpent in the garden of Eden is upon him to-day, and will continue with him to the end of time.

“Upon thy belly thou shalt go.” For six thousand years that has been his only method of locomotion, and he can never go in any other way.

The enmity which God put between the serpent and man in the garden lives to this day, and will live unto the end of the world. The serpent hates man, and it is a human instinct everywhere to hate and to war against the serpent.

The perpetuation of this curse upon the serpent is one of God’s living witnesses to the fall of man.

God said to Adam, “Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the fruit of the tree of which I commanded thee saying, ‘Thou shalt not eat of it’ ; cursed is the ground for thy sake ; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life ; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee. * * * In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.”

That was God’s curse upon man. It has never been removed. It remains

with him to remind him that his first parents fell from a state of innocence.

God said unto the woman, "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow, and thy conception ; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children ; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

That was God's punishment of woman for the part that she took in the first transgression. Has it been removed ? Is it not just as real to-day as it was thousands of years ago ? It remains, and will remain till the end of time, to remind woman how the devil beguiled her and robbed her of her innocence.

Now Paul says that his law forbidding women publicly to teach men, is based upon the sentence which God pronounced against woman in the garden. Has that sentence been revoked ? I understand that some of our female evangelists and apostles say that it has been revoked. If it has been annulled, who did it, and when and where was it done ?

The curse upon the serpent remains. The curse upon man continues. Why should woman's curse be removed?

What evidence have we that the disabilities imposed upon her in Eden have been cancelled? The Bible contains no such doctrine. Jesus Christ and his apostles did not teach it. Woman's sorrow has not been removed, and the law putting her in subjection to man has never been repealed.

Under the old Jewish dispensation there were no female priests, and women were not allowed to speak in the synagogue in any capacity. Christ did not interfere with this regulation. In organizing his own dispensation he said nothing, and he did nothing to warrant a departure from the Jewish doctrines and practices in reference to women. He chose twelve apostles. There was not a woman among them. Among the seventy whom he commissioned to preach there was not a woman.

Brethren, do you appeal from the authority of this divine book? If you do not the question is settled, and the uniform practice of the churches from the apostles till now must stand.

It is due to the Christian women of the nineteenth century to say that only a few of them comparatively, have joined this rebellion against God's order. The great mass of them are content to remain in the sphere prescribed for them by the precepts of the Bible and the laws of their own nature.

In the field of Christian activity there are tasks for woman that are great enough to tax her utmost capacity, and high enough to satisfy every lawful aspiration of her soul. Within the great circle of her own sex she is permitted to teach, admonish and exhort to her heart's content. More than half the members of our Sunday Schools are females. Here and in the homes of the people and in religious meetings composed of females, she may

do her share of the work which God has committed to his church.

I have always had some sympathy with Adam, because I know the bewitching power of female eloquence. It requires a desperate struggle of the will to overcome it. Women are naturally so much better than men, so much gentler and kinder and sweeter, that men are apt to think it a virtue to yield to them even when they know them to be in error.

But he is woman's best friend who dares to oppose her in a wrong course. He is most loyal to woman's welfare, happiness and honor, who is most persistent and determined in his efforts to deter her from those undertakings that are incompatible with the laws of her being.

Woman, self-willed, contentious, arrogant, noisy, combative, is a hideous monstrosity. There is nothing on the earth or under the earth that has less attraction for a right-minded, true-hearted manly-man. But woman clothed with purity,

modesty, humility, a gracious temper and a calm spirit; woman cultured in mind and heart, and lovingly and loyally moving in her divinely appointed orbit, is exalted to her highest estate, and in that estate is man's angel, a wayside sacrament, a handwriting of God, a window opening towards a world of cherubim.

Whence comes this new craze? Whence comes this challenge of apostolic inspiration and authority? Whence comes this clamor for the transmutation of woman? Whence comes this new slogan, "Down with Paul and up with woman?" Whence comes the cry that calls woman to the pulpit, the rostrum, the political caucus, the ballot-box, and the legislative hall? It comes from the same region where every ism that has cursed the country for the last century had its birth. It comes from a section which applauded Theodore Parker for saying, "If Jesus Christ did teach the doctrine of eternal punishment I do not believe it." It comes from a

community so tolerant of heresy that a man can be elected to a chair of theology in a college once distinguished for its orthodoxy, who says there are three ways to God and heaven—the way of the church, the way of the Bible and the way of reason—and that a man is perfectly safe in choosing any one of them. It comes from the birthplace of the New Theology, whose liberality is only another name for infidelity. I confess that I would be less suspicious of it if it had first seen the light on a soil less prolific of evil.

From the birth of the Republic to the present day this sunny Southland has been singularly free from that latitudinarianism in religious belief, and that irreverent spirit towards God's word, which have been the blight and mildew of other sections. There has been nothing in our Southern soil and atmosphere to give nutriment to these noxious weeds. Let us abide in this spirit of loyalty to God and

his truth. Let us present to these propagandists of a diluted and perverted Christianity an unbroken front, and looking calmly and trustfully to Him who giveth us the victory, stand with the deathless devotion of martyrs by the old flag of the old faith.

It has been my fear of the sources from which these mischievous innovations come, that has made me for five years a persistent advocate for the creation of a Southern Baptist literature for Southern Baptist Sunday Schools. Such a literature would do much to keep the South "solid" for all time to come. The South needs to be solid; solid, not for sectionalism but against it; solid for the Union our fathers framed; solid for good government; solid against class legislation; solid against laws that are golden girdles for the rich and galling shackles for the poor; solid for peace and fraternity on the basis of mutual respect and confidence, and equal protection and freedom; but above all solid against looseness of relig-

ious belief and practice ; solid against every appeal from God's book to the tribunal of human reason or human consciousness ; solid for a living ministry of men whose lips and lives are pure, and who will "know nothing among men but Christ and him crucified" ; solid for God's order in the church and the whole social economy ; solid against the folly and sin of robbing woman of her native modesty, humility, loveliness and dignity, by thrusting her out of her native sphere into unnatural relations, and clothing her with functions which she was not born to wear ; in a word, solid for God and against everything that is false, and wrong and hurtful to man. Heaven grant that my life may be lengthened to see the time when not only the South, but the North, the East, and the West, all this bounteous birth-land of the free, shall have no creed but the Bible, and no Saviour but Christ, and when this great people shall consecrate their magnificent resources to the world's redemption.

CONTENDING FOR THE FAITH.

Contending for the Faith.

“Ye should earnestly contend for the Faith once delivered to the saints.”—Jude i: 3.

THE faith for which Christians are exhorted to contend is the whole system of God's revealed truth. It is everything that God spoke to the World, through His Son, Jesus Christ, and through patriarchs, prophets and apostles. The Bible is the Christian's faith. This book contains all the religious truth which God has revealed to man. It contains all the religious truth that man needs in the present life—all that can be of real help to him in his earthly toils and conflicts.

It was “delivered to the saints” — to all saints in all ages. “Saints” is one of the many names which God has given

to his people. Every regenerate person, every Christian, is a saint. Sainthood is not limited to those who have been canonized by the church. It belongs to every being on God's footstool who loves the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Greek word here translated "delivered" means committed, entrusted to, surrendered for safe-keeping. God has committed his revealed will to his people, and it is their sacred mission to keep it intact, and to the end of time.

This "faith"—the revealed will of God—was "once delivered unto the saints." That means that it was delivered *but once*. The revelation that God made through His Son, and through his prophets and apostles, was never repeated. It was made *once for all*. That revelation was complete. When the last of the apostles fell asleep, revelation ceased. Since then, men have been quickened and enlightened by the Spirit of God for the study of God's word, but they have received no

new revelation. The man who taketh from, or addeth to the words of this book, is a deceiver and a blasphemer, and will be punished with God's everlasting displeasure.

To "*take from*" God's word is the sin of the infidel—the man to whom nothing is sacred. To "*add to*" it is the sin of the presumptuous man, who assumes that he can supplement the wisdom of God's prophets and apostles. I cannot say whether the former or the latter is the greater sinner. God abhors both, and will consume both with His burning indignation.

The apostle says that we "should earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints." We should contend for it by extending the knowledge of it, and by making converts to it. We should contend for it by bravely defending it when it is assailed.

This divine requirement does not warrant us in resorting to *violence* and *perse-*

cution. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, and the man who would invoke the aid of civil government in extending the gospel is no friend to Christ.

The persecution of the Jews by the Russian government is the foulest blot upon the civilization of the Nineteenth Century. The people who practice such cruelties in the name of Christianity are as remote from Christ as the followers of Tom Paine and Robert Ingersoll.

It is rumored that our government is seeking an alliance with Russia. God forbid that any emergency should ever arise to make it necessary for the people of "this birthland of the free" to confederate with a nation whose spirit is not only unchristian, but barbaric and inhuman. Alliance with such a power for any purpose would be a disgrace from which this country could never recover. Of all the abominations born of human depravity, religious persecution is the most satanic and hateful.

That most adulterous of all connections, the union of Church and State, had its origin in the false idea that Christianity needs the support of temporal authority and power. Christ forever repudiated that mischievous heresy when he said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

All that Christianity needs, and all that true Christianity asks of civil government, is *protection*. It asks the civil power to guarantee to all men the privilege of obeying their consciences in all matters pertaining to religion. The sect, or church, which asks for governmental *patronage* is anti-Christ. Christianity does not *need* the patronage of government, and it cannot accept it, without confessing to an inherent weakness, and without strengthening the cause of infidelity.

"The faith once delivered to the saints" has not been kept by State Churches. State Churches have corrupted it, and perverted it to unholy purposes. State

Churches are responsible for nine-tenths of the infidelity in the world to-day.

“The faith once delivered to the saints” has been kept by those communities of God’s people, who in all ages, have protested against any organic connection between Church and State, and contended for absolute religious freedom.

I shall never cease to thank God for putting me into the ministry of a denomination of Christians, which, through all the centuries of its existence, has stood as immovable as the eternal hills in its opposition to any State interference with religious belief and worship. Every impartial reader of history will admit that the people to whom John Bunyan, John Clark and Roger Williams belonged, have done more for true religious liberty than any other people.

Ours is the only country in the world that has ever tried the experiment of religious liberty. No other country has ever advanced beyond the policy of toler-

ation. Wherever there is State patronage of religion, in any form, there can be nothing more than toleration.

I have said that ours is the only country that has tried the experiment of religious liberty, but the truth is that the religious liberty of our country is but little more than complete toleration. So long as our government exempts church property from taxation, and appoints chaplains to Congress and to the Army and Navy, we cannot have absolute religious liberty. I am surprised that the State of Georgia holds to this inherited relic of British oppression.

To take money out of the public treasury to pay men to open the sessions of the Legislature with prayer is a violation of our most fundamental idea of religious freedom. Men who do not believe in the Christian religion are thus compelled to support it.

It will be a blessed day for Christianity when the last vestige of State religion is

obliterated from the nations of the earth. When that day comes infidelity will be deprived of its most destructive weapon, and the churches of Jesus Christ will be a hundred-fold more spiritual, consecrated, potential and successful than they have ever been.

But while it is our duty to contend for the utmost liberty of conscience in religious belief and practice, it is equally our duty to "contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints."

We can contend for God's revealed truth, and for every jot and tittle of it, without violating the rights of conscience.

The man who opposes doctrinal preaching opposes one of the plainest and most imperative requirements of God's word. The minister of Jesus Christ who declines to defend the Bible against the assaults of current infidelity is either ignorant of his duty or shamefully lacking in fealty to his high and holy commission.

Paul's ministry was a *contention* from beginning to end. He contended for the great *doctrines* of the Gospel, and boldly asserted its authority over men of every nation, kindred, tongue and tribe. His discussion of the doctrine of the resurrection is one of the sublimest specimens of argumentation to be found in any literature, ancient or modern. It is what the late Dr. Thornwell would have called "logic on fire."

The ministry of Christ was a contention for God's truth. He contended with Scribes and Pharisees for the true meaning of what Moses and the prophets had written.

A church that does not appreciate the importance of keeping the faith as it was delivered, and that makes no issue with false teachers, is a church without power, and without Godward aspiration. Such a church is *contemptibly* weak. Among the forces which are moving the world onward and upward it is an imperceptible factor.

This country has produced no grander spectacle within the last quarter of a century than the recent meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, when the sanctified learning of that magnificent body analyzed, pulverized, and almost annihilated the God-dishonoring and soul-destroying heresies of Dr. Briggs and his Unitarian allies. There was achieved a victory which filled God's armies on the earth and above the earth with ecstatic joy, and smote with consternation and terror every black-bannered legion of infidelity under the sun.

Let us glance at a few specimens of the false teachings introduced into our churches by the advocates of the "New Theology." Dr. Briggs is a typical apostle of that school, and Dr. Parkhurst is his most devoted follower and ardent defender.

Dr. Briggs says, "I shall venture to affirm that, so far as I can see, there are *errors* in the Scriptures which no man has

been able to explain away." Dr. Parkhurst stands by this affirmation, and says that he is prepared to sustain it with the most incontestable proof. When the proof is demanded he comes up with this momentous statement, which he claims is unanswerable and overwhelming: "In Leviticus xi: 5, Moses says that conies chew the cud." He claims that in this statement Moses committed an error, because naturalists tell us that conies do not "chew the cud."

We are certainly indebted to Dr. Parkhurst for having greatly abbreviated and simplified the issue. According to his view, it is unreasonable and absurd to claim infallibility for the Bible, unless it can be proven that conies chew the cud. All at once that little animal of the East is elevated into an importance which belongs to no other quadruped. The fate of this old Book, which has done more for the world than all other books, depends upon what goes on in the mouth of

the coney. If he chews the cud the Bible is safe, but if he does not the Book is doomed and must sink to a level with all else that is merely human. The result of Dr. Parkhurst's deliverance on this subject will be an unprecedented activity in the coney market. Every man who realizes the importance of the great question will want to see a coney and look into his mouth. Coney-hunters will make their fortunes in a day. And then Armour or Hutchinson will probably make a "corner" in the market, and the price will be so advanced that only the rich can afford the luxury of owning a coney.

Let us see if Moses did make the disastrous mistake with which he is charged. In showing the children of Israel how to distinguish between clean and unclean animals, he tells them that both the hare and the coney are unclean, because they "chew the cud," but do not "divide the hoof." The distinction between ruminating and non-ruminating animals was not

known in that day, and Moses used the expression, "chew the cud," as the people of the East understood it. Conies and hares, like cows and sheep, when they stop eating, lie down and make the same motion with their jaws that they make in eating. They have a constant habit of grinding and chewing. The Hebrews called this motion "chewing the cud." That was the universal name for it then, and it is the universal name for it in the East to-day. The scientific name for it was unknown, and therefore, Moses, to make himself intelligible, had to use a non-scientific expression.

In interpreting the Bible, we must take words exactly in the sense they were used when the Bible was written. The Bible speaks of the sun "rising" and "setting." We understand very clearly what is meant by these terms. We use them ourselves. The most learned scientist on the globe does not hesitate to say that "the sun rises and sets." But such

language is not scientific, because, as a matter of fact, the sun does not rise and set. It is no higher at noon than it is at 6 A. M. or at 6 P. M. It is the daily revolution of the earth that makes the sun appear to rise and set.

Alas for Dr. Briggs and Dr. Parkhurst if they can make no better showing for their unrighteous cause than the evidence furnished by the conies.

Dr. Briggs has discovered that Christians are not pure and sinless even after death, and that there is an eternally progressive sanctification. Where did he make that discovery? Surely not in the Bible. If he did not get it from some of these latter day peripatetics who "see Jesus in the moon," it is purely a creation of his own brain. The multitude of the redeemed which John saw, had "washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." If there is one feature of the future state of God's people that the Bible makes clearer than another, it is its absolute *sinlessness*.

Dr. Briggs thinks there are three ways to God and heaven—the Bible way, the Church way, and the way of Reason. I am very happy to know that he is wise enough to recognize the Bible way. It is very consoling to me to be assured that the Bible path, which my ignorance compels me to choose, though very inferior to the one chosen by him, Brother Parkhurst, and their fellow-rationalists, will lead me to the “better country.”

But if the *Bible* teaches us the way to God and heaven, there cannot be *another* way. Here we read, “I am the *way*, the *truth*, and the *Life*. No man cometh to the Father but by *me*.” “No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son hath revealed Him.” “Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God.” “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.” “He that believeth not shall be damned.” “He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.” “He that

believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.”

This is the Bible way, and if it be *true*, there cannot be another way.

Now, plain common-sense people will reason about the matter in this way: “If men may find God without a revelation, why did God make one? If men may escape the just reward of their sins without a Redeemer, why did Jesus Christ come into the world to seek and to save that which was lost? If men may be saved without atonement, why did Christ “bear our sins in his own body on the tree?” I say this is the reasoning of people of plain common sense; and, after all, the conservatism which is to save the world from the blight and mildew of infidelity is in the brain and heart of plain common-sense people.

Some persons seem to think that the Presbyterians have acted very unwisely in smiting Dr. Briggs. They think that he is too important a man to be cut off

merely for *heresy*. They remind me of an incident that was related by some speaker in the trial of Dr. Briggs' case: A dog, supposed to be worth five thousand dollars, had seized a distinguished visitor at a bench-show by the leg, and was tearing his flesh into shreds. The owner of the vicious animal ran up and stood before the wailing sufferer, exclaiming, "Oh, sir, don't hurt that dog. He is worth a thousand common dogs." These people who depreciate the action of the Presbyterian Assembly seem to care very little for God's bleeding cause, but they are profoundly concerned for the safety of *Dr. Briggs*.

There is a vast deal of heresy just at this time in regard to the visible church of Jesus Christ. The most mischievous ideas are afloat in regard to the functions of the church, and the scope of its work. I agree with a distinguished writer in one of our religious periodicals, who says: "The church is the one and only organi-

zation of *divine appointment* for instruction, devotion and service." God has committed this work to the *Church*, and to the church *alone*.

There is nothing that needs to be done for the evangelization of the world and the edification and development of believers that cannot be done by the local churches, individually or collectively, through their chosen representatives.

God has made a distinction between the young and the old, but it does not follow, therefore, that the young and the old cannot live together, and work together and be happy together in the same home, the same society and church. "If the Lord Jesus and his inspired apostles *did* recognize a difference between the young and the old, they did not teach, either by precept or example, that that difference was of such a nature as to make it necessary, or desirable, for them to have each a separate organization for either devotion or service. May it not be that this very

difference between the young and the old presents the very strongest reason for the course of Jesus and his apostles in establishing the *one organization* for both classes. They are mutually dependent. Youth needs to be helped by the gravity and experience of age, and age needs to be helped by the strength and bouyancy of youth."

But in these days of religious deflections, novelties, and isms, the idea has taken hold on many of our young people, that the church is an organization for them to belong to, but not to work in. They are under the delusion that there is nothing in the church proper for the young to do, and therefore must get out into some external organization to make themselves useful to the cause of Christ.

A Philadelphia publishing house has undertaken to organize the Baptist young people of this country into a National Convention—a convention having no organic connection with Baptist churches,

and in which the young are to be indoctrinated, and taught to work independently of the churches. The movement is heretical and mischievous to the very core. One of the conditions of membership in that convention is that a weekly paper issued by that Philadelphia publishing house must be accepted as the organ of the convention. Thus a purely external organization presumes to exercise an authority, and to do a work, which God has committed solely to the churches.

It is very gratifying to know that our young people in the Southern States recognize the unscripturalness of this movement, and that only a few of them, comparatively will give countenance to it.

I do not object to organizations of young people for Christian work, if they will keep their organizations within the church, and subject them to the authority and supervision of the church. Let us get back to the teachings of this Book and recognize the unmistakable truth,

that the only *divine* organization in this world is the Church of Christ, and that it is God's plan and purpose to reach and save the world through the agency of the church. The multiplication of organizations to do what God has required his church to perform, is insubordination to the divine will, and will breed confusion and disaster. We are loyal to God and His truth, just to the extent that we love and exalt the church of God above all human institutions.

In entering to-day on the eighth year of my ministry in Atlanta, it fills me with gratitude and joy to be able to say that the dear old church which I am permitted to serve has supported me in all my contentions with error and unrighteousness.

I rejoice that I am the servant of a people who believe this Bible to be the Word of the living God, and to whom a "thus saith the Lord" is an end of controversy. They not only believe it to be the Word

of God, but they have a common sense understanding of its language that cannot be upset or confused by the fanciful and far-fetched interpretations of the new schools of theology. I assure you that it gives me a mighty inspiration to be backed by a congregation so united and unflinching in its fealty to God's revealed truth.

The work that has been accomplished through our own local church organization, and the increased receipts of the church treasury for religious objects, furnish abundant evidence that the people who worship here have not lost faith in the wisdom and efficiency of God's institutions and methods.

Confiding in the integrity of your purpose never to forsake the "old paths," and looking to God for His guidance, I turn with hope and cheer to the duties and conflicts of another year.

Somewhere in the not very distant future, possibly before our next anniver-

sary, the summons will come to me to lay aside my armor and quit the field of sublunary contests. Till then it is my desire and purpose to stand close to the flag and in the thickest of the fight, so that I may be able to say with the greatest of all saints and apostles, "I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith," and that I may hear from out the third heaven, opening to receive me, the voice of my divine Judge and Master saying:

"Servant of God, well done !
Rest from thy loved employ ;
The battle's fought, the victory's won,
Enter thy Master's joy."

HEART AND LIFE:
OR, THE
PHILOSOPHY OF MORAL ACTION.



Heart and Life; or, the Philosophy of Moral Action.

"Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life."—Prov. iv : 23.

I HAVE never brought before this congregation a greater subject, or one more vital to the present and eternal welfare of mankind, than that presented in the text. If I can get out of it and into your minds and hearts what I see in it, we shall go hence as happy as if we had had a transfiguration experience.

"Keep thine heart with diligence." Why keep the heart with diligence? Because "out of it are the issues of life." That means that your conduct will correspond to your character. Character is what you are in mind and heart. If you

are good at the center of thought and affection you will be good all over, and if you are bad there you will be bad all over. What you see in a man's conduct is exactly what was in his heart. All we see that is good or evil in the social world is simply thought and feeling transmuted into conduct. Christ reiterated and put his own divine emphasis into the doctrine of our text when he said, "Ye shall know them by their fruits." "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, and a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit."

"Keep thine heart with all diligence ; for out of it are the issues of life."

In these words we have an epitome of the whole philosophy of moral action.

Every man is endowed by his Creator with a will, and that will is free. How do we know that it is free? We know it by the testimony of our consciences. If I will to do something which is good and pure my conscience approves me, but if I

do something which is evil and vile, it condemns me. If the will were not free, if man's conduct is the result of irresistible force from without, conscience would neither approve nor condemn.

We know that the will is free, because the universal sentiment of mankind is, and always has been, that men are responsible for their conduct and should be punished when they do wrong.

I am aware of the fact that in these latter days there has arisen a new theory of mental and moral action—a theory which denies the freedom of the will. I am not surprised at it, for the same human depravity which tries to put God out of the universe will endeavor to overthrow the doctrine of human accountability.

I agree with my friend and brother, Dr. Lee, that science and philosophy are in perfect harmony with the Christian religion; but there is a vast deal that is called science and philosophy which is of

the devil and strikes at every basal principle of Christianity.

One of the most hideous and hurtful creations of this false philosophy is the "physico-chemical theory" of mental action.

According to this theory all mental and moral phenomena are reducible to physical laws, and are as necessary and inevitable as the working of similar laws in the outward world.

The meaning of this is that it is simply impossible for any man to be different mentally and morally from what he is. Nero could not have been less than the fiend that he was because of the brain that was in him, and the circumstances which surrounded his life. As his brain and nervous system were the only medium of his mental actions, his every thought and feeling was the result of a strictly physical process, over which he had no control, and for which he was not responsible.

According to this theory, any man who happens to be born with a brain like that

which was lodged in the skull of Rube Burrows, and who grows up in a country like that in which he was reared, is compelled to be a thief, a robber, and a murderer.

According to this theory, if you were born with a certain kind of brain, and so much of it lies above and so much below a certain line, and you grow up with a certain environment, you will inevitably become a gambler.

According to this theory, every man's thoughts and feelings and character are the products only of physical causes. He is intellectually and morally just what physical laws compel him to be.

Do you believe that? No, you do not, and you cannot believe it. If you believed it, you would not blame your child for disobedience, you would not blame the thief who steals your money, nor the incendiary who sets fire to your house, nor the bandit who murders your neighbor.

You cannot get rid of the instinct which makes you approve certain actions of men and condemn others. You do not have to reason yourself up to the point where you can say that the honest and peaceable man should be commended, and the thief and assassin should be condemned and punished. You say it without waiting to reason or reflect—instinctively you say it.

You do not blame Vesuvius for its noisy and destructive wrath. You do not blame it for the streams of lava which overflowed and buried the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

You do not blame the Alpine avalanche for its destruction of human habitations and human lives.

You do not blame the cyclone which sweeps over the land prostrating forests, lifting up the dwellings and the bodies of men into the air, and leaving death and desolation in its track.

But do you feel thus towards the human tyrants and monsters whose feet have

slipped in gore, who have made torches of human bodies to illumine their gardens, and amused themselves by spreading terror, mourning and lamentation throughout nations and continents? No, you feel that such incarnate fiends deserve all the indignation and reprobation which earth and heaven can bestow upon them.

You hold men responsible for their conduct, because you know by your own experience that the human will is free, and that man has the power to choose between good and evil.

I say that we are free moral agents and are therefore responsible for our words and deeds. But let us see where the freedom lies, and upon what our responsibility rests.

It cannot be denied that we have done things which at the moment could not have been avoided. We will suppose that yesterday you were debating with your neighbor some political question. Unable to cope with him in argument you

got mad and called him a liar and thief. At the time you uttered these unjust and spiteful epithets you were not free. You said what your feelings at the moment forced you to say.

But to-day, as you review your conduct, you do not feel that you are blameless. Notwithstanding the fact that your anger deprived you of your freedom, and you were compelled to say what you would not say in your sober moments, you reproach and condemn yourself for having called your neighbor a liar and a thief.

Suppose a different case. Years ago you formed the habit of drinking intoxicating beverages. That habit has grown upon you until you have become a drunkard. Last night you went home maddened by the poison in your blood and brain and drove your wife and children into the streets.

You know very well that you were not free when you did that wicked and cruel thing. You were a slave doing what your vile passion compelled you to do.

And yet you do not feel that you are innocent. Now that you are sober your conscience condemns you. You are loaded with a sense of your baseness. You feel that you deserve the contempt of all decent people and a month's hard labor with the chain-gang.

No man is free who is weaker than the temptation which confronts him. He is a fettered slave. And yet he condemns himself for yielding to temptation.

Now the question which I want you to consider is, why does that man condemn himself? If he is a slave driven into vice by some raging lust within him; if he has no power to resist the temptation which so often stands before him, why does he condemn himself? Because he knows that he might have been free, and that he chose not to be.

In olden times a man born free might sell himself into perpetual slavery. So, too, may one by his own willing self-surrender, make himself a life long slave to sin and vice.

The drunkard blames himself because he remembers that there was a time when he was free, and that in the face of solemn warnings and affectionate entreaties he chose to drink, and thus fastened upon himself the vile habit which ripened into drunkenness with all of its wretchedness and degradation.

Every gambler despises himself. He feels as mean as a thief. He knows that he is out of place when he is in the presence of honest men. His conscience tells him that if he were sent to prison and dressed in the garb of a convict, it would not be more than he deserves. That man is not free. No galley slave ever had less freedom. The passion for gambling has grown within him until he has become absolutely helpless in the presence of the temptation. Why then does he write such bitter things against himself? Why does his conscience lash him? Why does he feel like a criminal? Because he knows that he was once free

and that he could have remained free, but chose to make himself a slave.

Where then lies our freedom? It lies in our power of attention, in our command of thought, in the control which we can establish over the real within. In other words, it lies in our ability to keep the heart with diligence. This comprises the whole philosophy of moral freedom and action.

Keep the heart ; let nothing into it that is vile. When bad thoughts come and seek entertainment, shut the door and tell them to depart. Let all the guests of your mind be clean and lovely. Meditate upon subjects that will exercise your higher faculties, and excite your nobler impulses. Settle calmly and deliberately in your mind the principles which should regulate your life, and then resolve to stand by them in every event of your earthly career. Study the oracles of God , invite Him to make you His tabernacle ; cultivate a sense of his presence.

Do these things and the issues of your life will be pure and beautiful and good.

The chief work of any good man's life is done in secret. When he seems to be the least active he is the most active. When he is saying and doing nothing, then he is deciding what to say and what to do.

It is in his periods of retirement and silence that he lays the foundations of his success. It is then that he fixes his principles and gathers the forces by which he can overcome temptation and maintain his freedom.

This is what Solomon means by keeping the heart. Make the SOURCE of life good and all the issues of it will be good.

If, for example, you have from time to time reflected upon the sin of lying; if you have seen its vileness and hatefulness, and cultivated an abhorrence of it, and sought God's help to keep your lips free from its stain, when you are tempted to tell a falsehood, it matters not how sudden or mighty the temptation, you are

prepared for it. The character which you have built in secret will instantly assert itself, and smiting that temptation from your presence will be natural and easy.

If in your hours of serious reflection you have considered the meanness and wickedness of fraud, and habitually sought God's help to keep your life free from the stinking pollution, you will never take advantage of your neighbor's ignorance and unload your worthless stocks upon him. You will never sell him brass for gold, paste for diamond, cotton for silk, or oleomargarine for butter. When the temptation to do these things is presented you will not need the councils and entreaties of virtuous men, nor will you have any great and painful struggle. You will not even stop to pray over the matter.

Upheld, fortified, and impelled by the energy and power of a righteous character, your resistance will be so spontaneous, and your conquest so easy that you will scarcely realize the presence of the tempter.

It is the neglect of this secret heart work that makes a man weak. If you fail to keep the citadel of life ; “if you give free scope to harmful reveries, to imaginations that transgress the borders of purity and integrity ; if you take a vulgar pleasure in letting your thoughts dwell upon vulgar things, the issues of your life will be vulgar and vile.”

“These reveries give birth to desires and affections of their own type. These musings light and fan a fire of their own baleful hue. By your inward life, thus ordered, your social and active life is determined.”

You are constantly saying and doing things which you do not approve, and which you did not deliberately choose or plan. When the mischief is done you say, “It was wrong, but I did it suddenly and inadvertently. Had there been time for reflection I would not have done it.”

But, sir, in nine cases out of ten you cannot have time to reflect. You must speak or act at the moment or not at all.

It is these inadvertent words and deeds that are the true index to the character. In them you are yielding to a necessity of your own choice—to a necessity which is the offspring of your own freedom.

The conduct of a man who has kept his heart with diligence will be just as pure and upright and noble when it is spontaneous as when it is premeditated.

Ask a good man to forgive you for a wrong which you have done him, and the instantaneous pardon which he grants you is full and complete—just as full and complete as if he had taken a month to think and pray over the matter.

When the good Samaritan comes suddenly and unexpectedly upon a stranger in distress his attention to his wants is just as generous and Christlike as it would be if he had clearly foreseen his condition.

If that scarred hero, who has breasted the fury of a hundred battles, and recorded his patriotic vows again and again with the blood of his own veins, were asked to

lead his liberty-loving countrymen once more into a struggle for freedom, he would respond as promptly as the thunder follows the lightning, and what he would say would be the expression of your highest conception of chivalry, and of fealty to the country's cause.

The spontaneities of an honest man's life are on the same high level of his premeditated acts. Ask him to join you in some fraudulent transaction, and his virtuous soul will instantly repel the insult, and his refusal will be as complete and final as if he had taken a week to consider the subject.

A gentlemen was seated in his carriage at the Piedmont Exposition watching a contest between two trotting horses. He was approached by a stranger, who said to him, "I will bet you a hundred dollars that the gray horse wins the race." His prompt and indignant response was, "Sir, I am neither a gambler nor the son of a gambler." He was just as ready to meet

that proposition, which had to be answered then and there, as he could have been had he known weeks before that it would be made to him.

The fearless knight, when aroused from slumber by a midnight alarm does not even think of surrender, but is ready for a brave resistance.

The man who keeps his heart with diligence is a soldier who sleeps in his armor, and no call to meet the enemies of his virtue, however sudden and unexpected, finds him unprepared for the conflict.

Keeping the heart is simply character-building. It is putting into it the solid and impenetrable granite of truth and righteouness.

These things being true, you see very clearly that the most important work of a man's life is preparation—fitting himself for conflict and usefulness. The most essential element of duty is preparation for duty.

We read this lesson in the example of Him whose words and deeds have done

more to illumine and uplift the world than all the other agencies and influences that have helped mankind. What was He doing during those thirty years of silence in Nazareth? Making preparation. What was He doing during those forty days which he spent in the wilderness at the beginning of His Messianic career? Making preparation. What was he doing through all the still hours of the lone nights He spent upon the mountains? Making preparation. Preparation for what? For just three and a half years of active ministry. Was that wise? Look at the influence of that ministry on the world's character, happiness, and destiny, and then answer.

The men whose utterances in the councils of the nation have left the profoundest impression, and will live longest in the memories of their countrymen, packed into a few great speeches the results of long years of patient and careful thought, research and discipline.

If I had but ten days more to serve this congregation I would take nine days for study and prayer and the tenth for preaching.

Preparation ! Young man, that word is golden. Make it the motto of your young life. Write it in letters of gold upon the white folds of your banner. Let your deepest concern be not about doing but preparation for doing.

Keep thine heart. Gather into it the incomparable and imperishable wealth of great truths, great thoughts, and great affections.

Open the door and invite to the highest throne that adorable Being, who alone can make you wise unto salvation, whose indwelling will make your heart a fountain of blessing, the streams from which shall gladden the world.

It is reported that when the tyrant Trajan commanded Ignatius to be disemboweled they found Jesus Christ written upon his heart in characters of gold. The

story is fabulous and yet true. Christ's name was there, but invisible to mortal ken. And that was the secret of that great life, the issues of which have brightened the pathway and splendedored the hopes of moral heroes and martyrs in every subsequent generation of men.

Oh, God, help us to keep our hearts with diligence, that out of them may go forth pure thoughts into pure words, holy purposes into holy deeds, and beautiful loves into beautiful lives. Fulfil this desire of our souls, that we may go to our graves in peace, and from that dreamless sleep, that calm and undisturbed repose beneath the sod, we may awake amid the living symphonies of angelic choirs to know the meaning of our Master's promise — "The pure in heart shall see God."

SHOULD THE STATE
LEGALIZE THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Should the State Legalize the Liquor Traffic?

Delivered Before the 1890 Club, January 28, 1891.

IN EVERY country where the supreme power is lodged in the people, the government is just what the people make it. Every man invested with the right of suffrage feels, or ought to feel, that he is responsible to the extent of his ballot and his influence for the laws enacted by the representatives of the people, and for the manner in which they are administered. There is another element of society in democratic countries which feels that it is in some measure responsible for the same things. This element includes every virtuous woman from the base to the apex of society. Every true woman feels it to be a duty to bring her influence to bear in favor of good government.

For what this government is and does, God Almighty will hold the people responsible. Every man who knowingly gives his ballot and his influence to the cause of bad government will be punished in this world and in the next if he does not repent before God and endeavor by a true and honest life to repair, as far as possible, the mischief he has done.

Under moral government, responsibility is not something that can be so widely distributed as to make each man's share inconsiderable and trifling. If a hundred men band together and rob a bank, the responsibility is not so divided that each man bears just a hundredth part of the guilt and the penalty incurred by the robbery. Each one of those men is just as guilty before the law, and in the sight of God, as if he alone had committed the iniquitous deed. If I have voted with a million of men for a law which I knew at the time to be iniquitous, I bear more than a millioneth part of the responsi-

bility. I bear it all, and a just God will punish me accordingly.

In these few brief statements you have the secret, the explanation, of a great movement in this democratic country in favor of purer and wiser legislation, with reference to what is almost universally conceded to be the most direful curse of the American people.

The men and women who are in this movement believe that they will be held individually responsible to God for the laws which sanction, defend, and support the liquor curse, if they fail to exert themselves to the utmost of their ability in an effort to blot out these base-born and iniquity-breeding laws.

This is the meaning of our movement. It is the outgrowth and expression of human consciences enlightened from above. It is an organized and divinely baptized crusade against organized and legalized inhumanity. Its aims are as pure as heaven ; it is inspired by convictions born of God.

The men and women who are in this movement are there to remain until the Master calls them to their reward in heaven. They are too wise to be tricked into silence by designing demagogues, and they are too brave to be driven from the field by any threat of social ostracism, commercial injury, or personal violence.

I admit that the cause of prohibition has among its supporters unwise and unworthy men. The same is true of Masonry; the same is true of Odd Fellowship; the same is true of Christianity. There are men among us who will follow our banner for the same reason that Judas followed Christ, and in the hour of temptation they will desert us for the same reason that Judas deserted Christ. They are with us but not of us.

Prohibition has a basis of truth and reason that is solid, immovable, and eternal, and when honest men go into it understandingly they go to stay, and they will stay in defiance of the very gates of hell.

What is our cause? What is our demand? It is that the State shall not legalize but prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors, except for medicinal and mechanical purposes.

I wish to present in a very concise form a basis of reason for this demand. It satisfies my mind, and I am confident that it will satisfy any man's mind who is willing to see and know the truth.

Various decisions of the highest judicial tribunal in our country have set at rest forever the question as to whether a State government has, or has not, the right, under the Federal Constitution to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors.

No abler or purer man ever adorned the American Bar or Bench than Chief Justice Taney, of the Supreme Court of the United States. This great question came before him when the cause of prohibition was in its infancy, and when he could pass an opinion upon it unbiased by popular clamor from any quarter. Here

is his decision: "If any State deems the retail and internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice and debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating or restraining the traffic, *or from prohibiting it altogether* if it thinks proper."

That high tribunal has never rendered a decision in conflict with this doctrine, but has again and again reaffirmed and ratified it, in language which the simplest man among us can understand.

It is gratifying to know that the constitutional question is settled, and that no one can charge us with disloyalty to the organic law of the Republic. The Federal Constitution, the supreme law of the land—that instrument which embodies the highest political wisdom known to man—guarantees to each State the right to legislate this accursed traffic out of existence within her territory.

We have cause for congratulation also in the settlement of another question,

upon which our people were for a long time divided. It is settled that the liquor traffic is an evil. Justice Grier says, "It is not necessary to array the appalling statistics of misery, pauperism, and crime which have their origin in the use of ardent spirits." Verily, it is not necessary. What every man sees with his own eyes, and in his own community, is enough to convince him of the reality and enormity of the evil.

We have reached a point where it is assumed in all legislation upon this subject, that the business of selling liquor is an evil, and a great evil. When the legislature of Georgia enacts a law for the suppression of gambling in some form, it is assumed that gambling is an evil, that it is hurtful to the interests of the people of the State. The law-makers regard that as a principle which admits of no controversy. They may differ as to the methods of removing the evil, but if one of their number should take the position that

gambling is not hurtful to the community, he would be laughed at as a fool, or or branded as a knave.

The same is true in regard to the liquor traffic. All legislative bodies in our country assume that it is a curse. All discussions are now limited to methods of dealing with the curse. Any man would be looked upon both as a curiosity and a monstrosity who should come before the public and deny that whisky selling is an evil. From such an exhibition of ignorance and assininity he could never recover.

The question having been settled that the liquor traffic is an evil, and perhaps the greatest evil which now afflicts society, it is inconsistent with the ends for which governments are instituted for the State to protect that evil. The proposition is incontrovertible that no government should protect and foster a business which is admitted to be a curse to society. Any man who should stand up among us and

assert that one of the legitimate functions of government is to protect evil, could scarcely keep himself out of the insane asylum. The judgment of a charitable public would be that he was a lunatic whose condition required seclusion, and the skillful treatment of a specialist.

Now, behold the inconsistency of the great Commonwealth of Georgia. Here is a business which every man in the State, from the highest official to the humblest private citizen, admits to be a curse upon the people ; and yet our statute books are dotted all over with laws which protect and support that curse.

What is the one and invariable duty of government in reference to evil? This is a question which every ten-year-old boy in your public schools can answer. He knows, and so does any human being who has any conception of government know, that it is the duty of the State to prevent evil.

The State of Georgia is consistent with this fundamental idea of government when

it forbids murder and hangs men convicted of murder. It is consistent with it when it forbids theft, and consigns to the penitentiary men convicted of theft. It is consistent with it when it forbids gambling, and punishes by fine and imprisonment men convicted of gambling.

Why does it make an exception of the liquor traffic? It does not say to the man who thirsts for human blood, "Pay me a few dollars and you shall have my sanction and authority to commit murder?" It does not say to the man who is cursed with a passion for theft, "Pay me a small sum and I will give you a license to go and steal to your heart's content." But it does say to the drunkard-maker, society's worst foe, "Put a few dollars into my treasury and you may open a dirty doggery, and make every man in your neighborhood a drunkard and a criminal if you can."

Now, what answer can our legislators make to this charge of inconsistency? I

have pressed them for an answer. I have begged them to tell me how they have gained the consent of their consciences to protect an evil which it is their solemn duty to prevent.

Perhaps the best answer which they make is this: "It does look inconsistent to legalize and protect an admitted evil, but there is some compensation for the inconsistency in the fact that we REGULATE the evil and get a revenue from it." Regulate it! What do they mean by that? How do they regulate the whisky business? "Well, by restricting it to the fire-limits." The Lord only knows where Atlanta's fire-limits are. They are somewhere between Edgewood and West End, but when there is an application for another license the lines become suddenly invisible and nobody can find them. The fire-limits mean one thing for the man who wants a permit to build a house, and quite another thing for a man who wants to start another whisky shop. As long as the liquor

business lives in Atlanta no surveyor will ever be able to trace those mysterious lines known as the "fire-limits."

Regulate it! How? "Forbid the doggery men to open on Sunday, and election days, and make them close at ten o'clock in the evening." Yes, but it is an open secret that, in a majority of cases, such regulations extend only to the front doors of these establishments. I am reliably informed that men can and do get liquor on Sundays, election days, and after ten o'clock in the evening, from many of the bar-rooms in Atlanta. I suppose that the regulations are about as well enforced in in this city as they are in any community of the State, but everybody knows that, practically, they amount almost to nothing.

Regulate it! How? "Remove the blinds from the front door." Well, we have done that, but how much has it abated the evil? Any man who is degraded enough to patronize one of these dens cannot be kept out of it by removing

the blind from the front door. To every such hole of iniquity there is a back door and a place of concealment for those who shrink from making a public exhibition of their shame.

“Then, in addition to this wholesome legislation, the State gets a large revenue from the business, with which she can build asylums for the afflicted, and maintain the public schools.” There would be something in that if it were not for the plain, stubborn, and incontrovertible fact that the crime and pauperism produced by this traffic cost the people of Georgia vastly more than the revenue it yields to the State.

But the question which paralyzes the average legislator is this: If public evils can and should be regulated, why do you limit the regulation to whisky? Why not regulate gambling? Why not regulate forgery? Why not regulate burglary? Why not regulate arson? Why not regulate murder?

Why not say to the thief, "You may prosecute your business of stealing men's watches, diamonds, pocket-books, and other property every day in the year, Sundays and election days excepted."

Why not say to the burglar, "You may break into and rob all the houses within the fire-limits of every city in the State, it being understood that great latitude will be allowed you on account of the uncertainty of the fire limits."

Why not say to the man who has a passion for killing people, "You may shoot every man who passes your premises, provided your next door neighbors do not object, and will say that you have the requisite moral qualifications for the business?"

It is just as easy to regulate a gambler, or a thief, as it is to regulate a doggerkeeper. Legalize gambling and regulate it, and I believe the men who pursue the business would violate the law less than the men who retail liquor.

Legalize theft and regulate it, and the men who are engaged in the business will submit to regulation more promptly, and with less complaint than the saloon men.

Long experience has demonstrated that no citizen of the Republic is so hard to regulate as the average dram-seller. His fertile genius has invented a hundred tricks by which he can defeat the whole regulation business.

If it is right and wise to raise a revenue for the State by taxing one admitted evil, why not tax them all? Why not allow gambling and tax it? It would bring a big sum into the State Treasury to require every gambler to pay to the State ten per cent. of his earnings. It would bring in a much larger sum to require every thief to turn over to the State ten per cent. of what he steals. To increase the public revenue in this way would not be more at variance with the laws of God, and more hurtful to society than our present liquor-license system.

To legalize any evil for the sake of revenue is an iniquity which every virtuous being in the universe must reprobate. One of the ablest and noblest men in the present Georgia Legislature said in a recent speech before that body, "The womb of hell is too weak to bring forth anything worse than the liquor-traffice." His phillippic would have been complete if he had said that out of the womb of hell there has never come anything worse than a law which makes the public school-system of the State of Georgia rest upon a foundation of dirty doggeries. My blood almost freezes with horror at the thought that our children will ever be told that for their educational advantages they are indebted to these dens of filth and vice.

The duty of the State is not to protect evil but to prevent it. If you believe that doctrine to be true, you cannot be honest and oppose the prohibition of the liquor-traffic ; because you know that of

all the evils which now afflict mankind it is the worst.

I sometimes hear an office-seeking demagogue say: "You temperance people ought not to invoke the aid of government in your efforts to remove this evil. You ought to rely upon argument and moral suasion." We temperance people do rely upon argument and moral suasion. We do appeal to the reason and conscience, both of the liquor-drinker and the liquor-seller; we tell them of the injuries which they inflict upon themselves and the community; we tell them of the degradation and shame which they incur in this life, and of the direful retribution which awaits them in the life to come. These are means which we have not neglected. We have plied them with all diligence and zeal. We rely upon them, but not upon them alone in our efforts to exterminate the curse.

Much has been done in this way to stay the progress of the mighty evil. In this

way we have closed many bar-rooms, deterred many young men from touching the destroying cup, and lifted up a great multitude from the depths of filth and shame.

But to make this great reformation complete, to extirpate this fearful scourge, we must have not only moral suasion but legislation.

Let me ask these champions of the moral suasion method a question or two. Would you advise the people of Georgia to confine themselves to moral suasion in their efforts to get rid of the curse of gambling? What would be the condition of society to-day if there was no legislation upon this subject? Would it not be incomparably worse than it is? Let the Legislature repeal all laws forbidding gambling, and let it be known that in the Commonwealth of Georgia there is no hindrance to the nefarious business but moral suasion, and the State would become the gambler's paradise. They would be

almost as thick as the frogs which infested ancient Egypt. Louisiana made the experiment once, and the result was that almost every other building in the central part of her principal city was converted into a place of vice, where men and women, boys and girls, representing all classes of society, met to gamble and drink and debauch.

Would you advise the people of Georgia to confine themselves to moral suasion in their endeavors to rid the State of thieves? Have you such faith in the transforming power of appeals addressed to the reason and conscience, that you would advise the repeal of all laws prohibiting theft? No, you would brand any man an incurable fool who would make a proposition so ineffably stupid. You know that the inevitable effect of repealing these laws would be to make all Georgia a den of thieves. There would be no security for anything. In five years the richest man among you would not have enough left to buy a breakfast.

In spite of all our prohibitory laws, some men among us will gamble, and others will steal ; but nobody doubts that if these laws were repealed, the number of gamblers and thieves would be prodigiously increased.

If legislation is necessary for the protection of society against these evils, is it not equally necessary to protect it against the mightier evils of liquor drinking and liquor selling? Can you by moral suasion alone keep men from drinking the baleful beverage? Some men you can. Men who are not cursed with an inherited passion for it you can persuade to let it alone. Men whose consciences have not been debauched and benumbed by vice may yield to an appeal to their moral nature. Men who have faith in God and his Christ, who love truth and virtue, who are conscious of their personal responsibility, and who believe in the retributions of a limitless future, very readily submit to the force of earnest and tender persuasion.

But what effect has soft persuasion upon the millions who are so bloated by dissipation that they are but little more than walking beer barrels? What effect would it have upon the old tubs who linger at your Capitol City Club every night until they are filled to the brim? What effect would it have upon the old scabs who stand at the street corners and beg for a nickel to buy one more drink? What effect would it have upon the man who is so maddened by a thirst for liquor that he will steal his wife's last jewel and even his children's clothing, and pawn them for money to buy it?

Such men are simply insensible to moral suasion. Your efforts upon them will avail nothing. You may as well attempt to persuade the swine from the swill-trough, or the vultures from their feast of filth.

The same is true of three-fourths of the men who sell liquor. Now and then by tender and importunate entreaty we get

one to quit the business. But the most of them will respond to your kindest and tenderest appeals only with imprecations and threats of personal violence. They know better than we the terrible fruits of their iniquitous traffic. They know better than we that it is society's worst foe. They know better than we how it despoils home of its purity and peace; how it fosters speculation and fraud in the marts of trade; how it corrupts the ballot and poisons legislation; how it breeds theft, robbery, riot and murder; how it multiplies widows and orphans and fills the land with alarm, lamentation and death. They know it all, and yet they are as remorseless and fixed as fate in their purpose to go on with their destructive work. From such men moral suasion will evoke no response. You may as well call upon the pulseless corpse to speak, or the cold marble to sing. Men so incurably selfish and conscienceless will respond to nothing but the stern

voice of law, and the iron fist of governmental power.

Here is another question which I wish the moral suasion champions to answer. Why do you urge us to try moral suasion on the liquor-seller, when you favor a governmental policy in reference to his business which neutralizes the effect of every appeal we make to him? When we tell him that he is an enemy to society, that his traffic is parent of four-fifths of the crimes committed in the State, and that under God's law he is a criminal and an outlaw, he holds up before us a State license to sell whisky, and says, with an air of triumph and self-satisfaction, "Your representatives in the Legislature don't agree with you." And so long as he holds that instrument, which arms him with the authority of the State, he does not regard our opinion of the character of his business. He assumes that the Legislature of the great Christian State of Georgia would not legalize a business which is morally

wrong and hurtful to the interests of the people. What sense, what consistency, what honesty is there in continuing to say to us, "Try moral suasion," while you advocate a State policy which renders moral suasion fruitless and powerless?

A poor, heart-broken wife, who has crouched a hundred times beneath the cruel blows of a drunken husband, goes to the saloon-man and entreats him not to sell her husband any more whisky, and he holds up his license and says, "Madam, I have paid for the privilege and you must not disturb me."

The widow goes to him and says, "Sir, that young man is my only son, and my only dependence for protection and support. Do not destroy him." And in reply he holds up his license and says, "The State gives me the privilege and I'll do it."

My friends, I have given the outlines of an argument against the license system, and in support of prohibition, which

no man has ever answered, and which no man perhaps will ever attempt to answer. In their secret councils, anti-prohibitionists have admitted that it is impossible for them to cope with us in argument. Their latest policy is to provoke as little public discussion as possible, and rely chiefly on the subsidizing power of money.

Mr. William E. Johnson, who was General Manager in Nebraska for the liquor men in their fight against prohibition, wrote to leading liquor dealers throughout the country, asking for their views as to the best methods of conducting a campaign in the interests of their cause. I have in my possession the answers which were made to his letters.

Henn Goodwin, wholesale liquor dealer, Aberdeen, Dakota, writes: "Buying up newspapers is one of the best ways of reaching the popular mind. We tried it with good results."

Peninsular Brewing Company, Detroit, Michigan, says: "Yours third instant re-

ceived and contents noted. We think the best policy would be to spend the funds with the papers, influential men in politics, lobbyists, etc."

D. W. Shehan, wholesale liquor dealer, Newport, Rhode Island, writes: "The bulk of your money should be spent on newspapers. The pulpit is the hardest to get at. But they can be reached by a certain class of worshippers." "They can be reached." If he had qualified his statement I would not controvert it. I am free to admit that some of them "can be reached." Judas was "reached" with thirty pieces of silver, and I have a strong suspicion that some in Atlanta have been reached in very much the same way. Blessed be God that for every Judas there are a hundred Simon Peters, men who cannot be "reached," men unpurchased and unpurchasable, whose response to every such proposition is, "Thy money perish with thee."

They can be "reached," says the eminent campaigner, "by a certain class of

worshippers." I am very curious to know what sort of people constitute this class of worshippers. I congratulate myself that no such worshippers belong to the church which I have the honor to serve, because I am sure that no member of it has ever tried to "reach" me.

I am confident that moral suasion could make no impression upon the men who write such letters, and commit themselves to methods so corrupt and infamous. I am just as confident that no appeal to reason and conscience could make any change for the better in the newspapers and pulpits that can be "reached" by such methods. They can be brought to repentance only through the intervention of an honest court and jury.

Beloved, let all such darkness serve us only as a back-ground for the exhibition of those virtues which adorn true manhood and womanhood. Let us glorify that grace which has kept us free from such filth. I would not bear the burden

of such infamy one hour for all the money that the whisky shops of this country have made in the last fifty years. Let these dark ways convince us of the magnitude of the undertaking before us, and of the heroism and fortitude which we must have in a conflict so arduous and desperate. It is a long and rugged road to the sky-kissing summit towards which we are climbing. Let us press on and know no such word as fail.

“Let us be heroes; let our might
Tramp on eternal snows its way,
And through the ebon walls of night,
Hew down a passage unto day.”

ETHICAL FEATURES
OF THE
TARIFF AND LABOR QUESTIONS.

Ethical Features of the Tariff and Labor Questions.

*Delivered Before the State Agricultural Association, Macon, Georgia,
October 25, 1890.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am not a politician. I have not the feeblest aspiration for political honors. In the world's great work-shop I have found the bench for which the Architect of my being designed me, and believing that there, and only there, success is possible for me, it is my unalterable purpose there to stand and serve my day and generation to the utmost of my ability.

In consenting to discuss the subject announced, it is not my purpose to align myself with any political party, but to consider the ethical principles involved in

certain political issues in a way that will touch the consciences of men of all parties.

If in debating these questions I should reach conclusions more in harmony with the principles of one of the two great parties of our country, than with those of the other, it will be because I cannot logically and honestly escape such conclusions.

One of the largest elements of Christianity is morality, and as a public teacher of Christianity, I should be lacking in fealty to its Divine Author, if in my discussions of it and my applications of it to the needs of men, I should ignore its morality.

I propose to discuss certain political and economical questions from the standpoint of a teacher of Christian morals. I believe that the ethical principles of this system are binding upon all men in all things, and upon all combinations and institutions of men, at all times and under all circumstances.

These principles are not imposed upon us by arbitrary authority. They are not

true because they are in the Bible, but they are in the Bible because they are true. They are true independently of the Bible. They would be true if no Bible had been written. These principles are inherent in the Divine mind, inherent in the moral universe, inherent in the nature of things, inherent in every human conscience.

I am here not as an ecclesiastic to assert things by the authority of some august ecclesiasticism. I am here to proclaim truths that inhere in the very nature of things. I am here to assert principles that would be universally and everlastingly binding if they had never received the sanction of any religious authority.

No individual, no political party, no government, can afford to disregard these principles. Every violation of them will be followed sooner or later by a righteous retribution. The party that acts upon the principle that what is morally wrong

may be politically right, will as surely go down as that God administers his government over the world. The government that is justly chargeable with fraud and oppression will sooner or later dig its own grave. It will breed discontent, resentment, and rebellion. Goaded by a sense of wrong, its suffering subjects will rise at last, and in the fury of their desperation sweep it out of existence.

Any political question which involves an ethical principle is a legitimate subject of discussion for me, or any other Christian minister, on this platform or elsewhere. For this reason the pulpit took hold of the slavery question. For this reason it is taking hold of the infamous Louisiana Lottery. For this reason it lays its hand upon the still more infamous liquor traffic. Great ethical principles are involved in the tariff and labor questions now agitating this country, and it is the right and duty of the pulpit to come to the front, and in the name of God and humanity,

protest against the adoption of any policy or measure which violates these principles.

To-day the tariff question is shaking our government with convulsions which threaten its overthrow. From a thousand rostrums excited orators are discussing the subject before excited multitudes. In our club-houses, stores, work-shops, factories, on our farms, and even around our firesides, the great debate goes on day by day with ever increasing intensity of feeling.

The same is true of the labor problem. There is universal discontent about the imperfections of our present social system. The toilers of the world are engaged in something like a world-wide insurrection. Humane and virtuous men and women of every degree are exasperated and verging on open revolt against a despotism which is reducing human life to a mere brutal struggle for existence.

If this problem is not solved, and quickly, there will be the most direful

social upheaval, not only in this country but throughout the world, on which God's sun has ever shone.

But the thought to which I would give the greatest emphasis is that there will be, THERE CAN BE NO CESSATION OF THIS DISCONTENT AND STRIFE, UNTIL THESE GREAT QUESTIONS ARE SETTLED UPON A STRICTLY ETHICAL BASIS. Any settlement which does injustice to any element of society, any settlement which is intended to build up one class by weakening another, any settlement which does not satisfy the enlightened conscience, will not stand.

Senator Ingalls says that "The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule have no place in a political campaign." He would rule them out of every discussion of political questions, and not allow their influence to be felt in any political caucus, convention, or election. In other words he does not believe that moral principles and convictions should have anything to do with the adoption or rejection of any political measure.

My countrymen, looking backward a hundred years hence, the student of history will read nothing worse than this. If this arch enemy of political honesty has voiced the sentiment of the majority of the American people, if they have determined that the "Ten Commandments" and the "Golden Rule" shall have nothing to do with the governmental affairs of this nation, we may know that her downfall is written in the book of fate.

I trust that the magnitude and importance of the subject will be accepted by my audience as a sufficient apology for this rather lengthy introduction.

Let us look briefly at the tariff, and see whether the present tariff system of our country is based upon ethical principles, and will stand the test of the "Ten Commandments" and the "Golden Rule."

It cannot be denied that one of the absolute necessities of the government is revenue. Its function is to protect life, liberty, and property. To keep in opera-

tion the stupendous machinery required for giving this protection to every subject of the government vast sums of money must be expended. It is conceded by all parties that the only certain or possible way of raising this money is to tax the people. It is conceded also that the power to levy taxes must be lodged with the government. The government must have the right and be armed with the power to collect from the people to whom it extends its protection so much of their property or earnings as is needed for its support.

I lay down as another fundamental axiom about which there can be no controversy, that the power of taxation should be limited by the actual necessities of the government. What are the actual necessities of the government? It is a revenue large enough to meet the expenses incurred in giving adequate protection to the lives, liberty, and property of its subjects.

As all are supposed to share alike the benefits to be derived from the govern-

ment ; every citizen should be required to pay his just proportion of the necessary expenses of the government. But when he is required to pay one cent more than his just proportion, he is wronged, he is oppressed, he is robbed.

These are the principles on which our American system of taxation is supposed to be founded. No one doubts, no one can doubt their ethical soundness. There is in every man a moral nature which recognizes their absolute integrity. The human conscience no more rebels against them than it does against "The Ten Commandments" and the "Golden Rule." Mr. Ingalls may oppose them with all his pyrotechnic eloquence ; in the baseness of his unswerving fealty to Mammon he may spurn them and spit upon them, but if he has any conscience left, and is not utterly dehumanized, he knows them to be true and just.

Just so far as our government has departed from these great principles, it has

departed from truth and justice and equity. Every violation of them is a violation of the rights of man. Trample them in the dust and our boasted freedom is a sham. It is folly to speak of it for it does not exist. To determine how great our peril is, to know how near we are to destruction, we have only to ascertain how far we have drifted from these ancient landmarks.

We all admit that the government must have a revenue, and that the revenue should be sufficient to meet all the legitimate expenses of the government. We admit that the only certain way of raising such a revenue is by taxation, and that every man whose life, liberty, and property are protected by the government should bear his just proportion of the taxation.

But, by what method of taxation ought the government to raise its revenue? (Of course you understand that I am limiting this discussion to the subject of taxation by the Federal Government.) What is

the fairest and most equitable method of taxation for governmental purposes? Here is room for an honest difference of opinion. Here the purest and wisest of our statesmen have been divided. If it were an original question with our country; if the government were yet in its formative state, and its method of raising a revenue had to be determined by the suffrages of the people, I would, without hesitation and without a doubt, cast my vote for direct taxation and absolute free trade. I am confident that this method of taxation, for governmental purposes, has a surer ethical basis than any other.

The system of taxation adopted by our Federal Government is a mixed one. The greater part of its revenue is raised by means of a tariff—the imposition of imposts upon imports.

Let us admit for the sake of argument that this is a just mode of taxation, that it is susceptible of defense upon purely ethical grounds. But whether you tax

the people directly, or by means of a tariff, the money raised by such taxation cannot be justly and honestly used for any other purpose than paying the necessary expenses of the government. To appropriate one dollar to any other purpose is a palpable violation of the principles upon which our system of taxation is supposed to rest. And if the paying of its necessary expenses is the only legitimate and rightful use that the government can make of its revenue, it follows that the government cannot, in justice to the people, collect more revenue from them, whether by tariff or otherwise, than is needed to meet its necessary expenses in giving protection to life, liberty, and property. How much does it cost the government of the United States to protect the lives, liberty, and property of its subjects? What is the sum of money needed to meet the expenses of its various departments? I do not know the exact amount, but suppose it to be two hundred

million dollars. Then just that sum and no more it has the right to collect from the people. Every dollar taken from the people beyond that amount is money to which the government has no right, and in taking it from the people it is guilty of oppression and robbery.

The government was made for the people and not the people for the government, and when the government converts itself into a despotism, and lends itself to a combination of men for the purposes of oppression and plunder, the people are stupid and contemptible if they submit. To take more revenue from the people than is needed to meet the expenses of the government, is an unmitigated wrong which they have the right to resist with all the might with which God has endowed them. That such oppression exists to-day in this so-called "land of the free," no honest man in his right mind will deny. How long will the people endure it? I cannot tell, but if I do not misread the

signs of the times, not another decade will have passed before the wronged and suffering millions of this land will rise in their indignation and wrath and throttle the oppressor.

If a tariff for revenue be a necessity, then the incidental protection which it gives to American industries is not wrong. If American manufacturers and producers would content themselves with this sort of protection, no voice of protest or of complaint would be heard, and the tariff controversy would sleep in a grave as deep as that in which slavery and secession are buried.

But they are not content. Inspired by a remorseless greed of gain, and spurning the idea of respecting the rights of other men, they tell us that the old conception of a tariff for incidental protection is dead, and that the new conception of tariff for protection with incidental revenue has come to take its place.

But the old conception is not dead. It throbs in the brain and burns in the hearts of millions of honest and liberty-loving men in our land. They may as well tell us that the decalogue is dead, that Christ's sermon on the mount is dead, that moral government is dead, that all human sensibility to truth and justice and honor are dead. What is morally right and commends itself to the enlightened conscience is immortal. Man can no more exterminate it than he can quench the burning fountains of the sun.

Tariff primarily for protection is governmental robbery. It repudiates our most innate conception of common honesty. It commits the government to a principle of action to be found in no system of ethics known to man, a principle which even Hottentots and Kaffirs would disown. Such a tariff is based upon the principle that the government has a right to take from one man a part of his earnings and give it to another

man. The protective tariff does take a large share of the earnings of one class and bestow it as a free gift upon another class. What is that? Justice? Equity? No. As long as there is such a thing as moral law, it can never be anything but robbery.

Here is a suit of clothes. It cost no more to manufacture it in this country than it would have cost in England. I could have bought it in England for \$25.00. I bought it in America for \$50.00. What made this enormous difference? The protective tariff. Who gets this profit of one hundred per cent? The American manufacturer. Who pays it? I. How does he get it? The government takes it out of my pocket and puts it into his. What do I receive from the manufacturers and the government as a compensation for this loss? Nothing—absolutely nothing. Is this justice? Is it equity? Is it honesty? Where is the ethical basis for such a transaction?

Where is the man on God's footstool who will undertake to defend it on moral grounds? Mr. Ingalls, having repudiated the "Ten Commandments" and "The Golden Rule," would support it, but not upon any principle of action which an honest man can respect.

Protection, like slavery, is an inheritance. It came down to us from monarchical and aristocratic Europe by way of New England. It had its origin in the supposed divine right of kings, and the supposed right of government to create class distinctions. It had its genesis in a conception as old as despotism, that the prosperity of a country is based on inequalities made by law, and on distinctions created by legislation.

Is this right? Is it just? Does it harmonize with the "Ten Commandments" and "The Golden Rule?" What right has government to say to one class of its subjects, "You shall be rich," and to another class, "You shall be poor?"

What right has it to determine what my social standing shall be? If I CHOOSE to be poor, or to occupy an inferior social position, I have no cause of complaint. But when the government, instituted for my protection, and for whose support I am taxed, lays its heavy hand upon me and COMPELS me to be poor and humble and obscure, I deserve all the indignity and outrage which it heaps upon me, if I do not protest and combine with other men to stamp out the injustice.

What is known as the McKinley bill, and which has become a law, is a specimen of unmitigated and unadulterated class legislation. There is nothing worse in all the history of feudalism. Its purposes are as distinct and unmistakable as the sun in heaven, when there is not a cloud to obscure its face. It was framed for the definite purpose of making broader and stronger the class distinctions already created by kindred measures. The inevitable effect of the McKinley bill will be

to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. It is a golden girdle for the millionaire but a hangman's rope for the man whose brow is beaded with the sweat of honest toil.

It was claimed by the old advocates of protection that it was only a temporary measure, a burden which consumers would have to bear only for a few years. They declared that just so soon as our infant industries had gathered strength, and could stand without governmental support, protection would cease. The economic millennium to which such tariff advocates as Clay and Hamilton looked forward with ecstatic delight, was absolute free trade, American vessels dotting every sea, and untrammelled commerce with all the nations of the world, and they advocated a tariff only because they believed it would hasten the realization of their dream.

But with no such expectation and with no such object in view, did Mr. McKinley and his political bed-fellows urge the

passage of this bill. Free trade is not the ultimatum for which they are wishing and working. They do not want it; they would not have it. Before their prophetic ken there rises no such vision, and they do not reckon it among the possibilities of the future.

What they desire, what they are scheming for, and what they are determined to have, if they can keep themselves in power, is not free trade—unfettered commerce with the world—but a country isolated from all other nations by the erection of impassable barriers to the introduction of foreign imports.

If it were possible for these men, the hirelings of godless monopolies, the paid henchmen of monied despots, to accomplish their iniquitous purposes, and fasten this 'accursed burden of protection, not only upon us for the rest of our mortal lives, but upon our children and our children's children, I should contemplate the future of my country with a feeling akin to despair.

But, I do not believe that these men will be permitted to realize their dream of continued power and plunder. The great American people will not join the Kansas apostate in discarding the "Ten Commandments" and the "Golden Rule." They still believe in God and moral government, and the everlasting distinctions between right and wrong. They have not banished the spirit of freedom from their breasts, and recorded a vow of meek and unprotesting submission to those who aspire to be their lords and masters. and, bye-and-bye, when their vision is clearer, their judgment less beclouded by the wizardry of designing demagogues, and they see how they have been wronged and robbed, and the still greater wrongs and robberies with which they are threatened, they will rise in their might and say to Ingalls, McKinley, Reed, and their fellow-conspirators: "Down and out. This temple was reared to freedom and justice, but ye have made it a den of thieves."

I must now leave this division of my subject and take up the labor question. By the labor question I mean simply the rights of labor.

What are the rights of labor? I do not ask what are its rights under the laws of the State. The employer who does no more for his employes than the State requires and compels him to do, deserves to be treated as a heathen and a publican. He may leave no part of his contract unfulfilled and still be a thief and a robber.

What are the rights of labor under moral law? Under the "Ten Commandment" and the "Golden Rule?" That is the labor question which I am here to discuss. That is the real problem which has to be solved before there can be any lasting peace between capital and labor. Any attempt to settle upon any other than an ethical basis will only aggravate the trouble and remove further into the future the end which we so fervently desire to reach.

What are the rights of labor? They are not what thousands of laborers claim to be their rights. There are multitudes of working-men as destitute of the true ethical spirit as the most selfish and merciless capitalist to be found in the land. They claim that they are the only producers of wealth, and hence that all the wealth of the community belongs to them. Capital, with all its selfishness and despotism has never gone quite so far as that.

How unreasonable and absurd this claim. I hire a man to plant and cultivate my vegetable garden. I pay him a just compensation for his services. But when the crop has matured and I go into the garden and begin to pluck the beans and peas and tomatoes, the gardener comes at me with a club and says, "These are my vegetables, sir. They are the products of my labor and of mine only, and if you don't get out I'll brain you."

Well, that gardener's claim is not more unreasonable and unjust than the one

which is made by thousands of the workingmen of our day. Some of them say that all the railroads of the country belong to them, because they built them, or that all the goods manufactured in the land are their rightful property because they are the products of their toil.

In most cases there are three factors in a business enterprise: First, the labor; second, the direction and superintendence of the labor; and third, the capital which provides the materials on which labor expends itself, and the machinery or tools with which it works.

Now, all these factors may be united in the same hands. The laborers in a factory may be the owners of it; that is, they may have put in all the capital with which it is operated, and with which its buildings, material, and machinery were bought, and they may have sufficient intelligence to superintend their own work. In such a case only do the laborers have the right to claim all the products and profits of the business.

But usually a business enterprise represents the three factors which I have named—the workmen, the superintendent, and the capitalist. And in as much as it is a partnership in which each partner contributes his share to the enterprise, each partner is entitled to a share of the profits of the business. It is preposterous in the last degree for the workmen, or the superintendent, or the capitalist, to claim all of the profits. Such a claim can have no moral basis. It does violence to every sentiment of right. Every man instinctively knows it to be wrong.

The legitimate demand of labor is that it shall have a fair share of what it helps to produce. This is all that the laborer has a right to claim. This is all that God's moral law and the enlightened human conscience will accord to him. To demand more than this is downright dishonesty, which deserves all the reprobation that virtue-loving men can heap upon it.

But does labor in our day and generation get a fair share of what it helps to produce? I am prepared to say, and without the least fear of successful contradiction, that in a majority of cases it does not. I dare to affirm in this presence and elsewhere, that more than one-half of the labor of this country is robbed of its rights.

What determines the rate of wages for a laborer in our day and land? The value of his labor to his employer? This should determine it, but it does not. He ought to be paid in proportion to the value of his services, but he is not.

A few weeks ago I went into a fancy hardware factory in Florence, Alabama, and found workmen who were paid eight dollars per day for their services. I asked the superintendent why he paid these men such high wages when workmen in other departments of his factory received only three dollars per day. He replied that it was not because their ser-

vices were more valuable than those of men in other departments of the business, but because there were so few men in the country who could do the particular work in which they were engaged. It was not then the value of the work which determined their wages, but the scarcity of the skill required for that kind of work.

What labor is more skilled and more valuable than that performed by a well-trained and well-equipped school-teacher? Who among you can estimate the worth of such a teacher to your child in the discipline and development of his mind, in fitting him to grapple successfully with the problems which will confront him in life's pathway? Such a teacher is worthy of our highest regard, and should receive a pecuniary reward in proportion to the value of his labor. But what does he get in the way of material compensation? Oh, shame, where is thy blush? In many places his wages do not exceed those of the hod-carrier or the street-scavenger.

What determines the rate of his compensation? Not the value of the work which he is engaged to perform, but the law of supply and demand. There are so many men competent and wanting to do the same work that he must take it for less than any one of a hundred bidders is willing to do it, or not get it at all.

Now, I protest that the wages of a laborer should not be determined by the law of supply and demand. The principle is unchristian, unjust and cruel. To pay a laborer whose labor is worth to you six dollars per day only fifty cents because there are a hundred men in the community who are willing to do it for that pitiful sum, is simply to take advantage of his dire necessity and rob him of the just reward of his labor. The money that a man makes by a business conducted upon that principle is treasure which he cannot hold without debauching his conscience and defying the justice of God.

But I am asked, "Do you buy your

hats and boots at their market value?" I answer, yes. "Do you buy your wood and coal at their market value?" Yes. "Do you buy your fish and poultry and bacon at their market value?" Yes. "Do you buy your horses and cows at their market value?" I do. "And is their market price determined by the law of supply and demand?" It is. "Then why not let the same law regulate the price of human labor?"

Because in God's eye and under God's government man is infinitely higher, nobler, and diviner than raiment or fuel, or fish, or fowl, or beast.

In the name of that Holy Being who made us in His image, and but little lower than the angels, in the name of that benignant Redeemer, who, though he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, stooped to clothe himself in our humanity, that he might save it and lift it to the skies, I protest against the injustice and the ineffable profanity and crime of put-

ting man on the market as you would the products of your farm or factory, and determining the price of his brawn and blood and brain by the law of supply and demand.

It would be madness and folly in me to say how much any class of laborers should be paid in dollars and cents. The purchasing power of money varies, and one dollar may be worth more this year than two dollars will be worth in the same market next year.

But there are a few general principles by which both workman and employer may determine, at any time, and in any country, what constitutes a fair return for labor. I will name some of these principles and challenge any man in the wide world to dispute their moral integrity.

1. The laborer should have enough to meet his actual physical wants — enough to provide himself with such clothing and food as are necessary to make him comfortable and preserve his health and

strength. Will any one deny the soundness of that proposition?

That much you allow the dumb brutes that serve you. The beast which draws your wagon or plow is given a comfortable shelter, and an ample supply of food when his day's work is done. Is the human laborer, your brother man, who serves you faithfully on the farm or in the factory, worthy of less? Does he not deserve a decent shelter, a good bed, warm clothing and an adequate supply of nourishing food? Where is the man who will face us and dare to say that this is asking too much for the laborer? You cannot find him. If such a human wretch should show himself we would load him with infamy. But pause and reflect for a moment. Do all faithful and honest workmen receive this reward? Do they? Have America's toiling millions what they need for their physical comfort and health? Have they? If you are not prepared to answer the question, I will

answer it for you. NO! No! a thousand times no!

I can find you men and women working ten hours a day in American manufacturies, who have less comforts than the beasts of burden around them. I have seen three or four families of them crowded into one 16x16 room. In that one little room they all cook and sleep and eat. They are half-clothed, half-fed, haggard and howling with discontent. I will find you thousands of families in this condition for the reason that the scanty wages which they receive will not allow them to do better for themselves. I will find all this want and squalid wretchedness among laborers whose work yields a large profit to the capitalist, and whose employers live in luxury and splendor.

Look at that picture and tell me if it is not worthy of your attention and sympathy. We are not lacking in societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but who will join a society to prevent such

inhumanity to man? Why don't the humanity-loving millions of this nation rise up and say, "This brutality must cease?"

2. The compensation of the laborer should be large enough to enable him to maintain a family. It is the birth right of every virtuous man to have a wife, and of every virtuous woman to have a husband. Any economic or social system which destroys or restricts this right, is an iniquity which deserves to be blotted out, and a government which will not guarantee this right to its subjects is a failure, and unworthy of support. A condition of things in any country which forbids a large element of its population to marry, must sooner or later be followed by a reign of crime and anarchy. Every man who is denied this sacred right is a malcontent, a breeder of social disturbance and rebellion against "the powers that be." Goaded by a deep sense of poverty and social inferiority fastened upon him

by selfish and unfeeling men, and cognizant of the fact that government lends its support to his oppressors, he is ripe for mischief, ready to join any red-bannered and red-handed revolution, that will spread alarm, lamentation, conflagration, ruin and devastation over the land.

How many people are there in this country who are robbed of the right of marriage by being robbed of the just reward of their labors? There are millions of them, and if this despotism of capital continues, in another decade there will be millions more. What security is there for any nation that is menaced by the discontent and indignation of so large an element of its population?

3. The working-man should have such a compensation for his labor as will enable him to keep his children in school until they have received at least the rudiments of an education.

If it is his right to have a family, it is right to receive such a reward of his labor

as will enable him to supply its actual wants. What are the actual wants of any man's child? Are they limited to shelter, food, and clothing? If the child were only an animal they would be. But he is more than an animal and has something more than a material body to be cared for. He has a mind and the necessities of that mind are just as real as those of the body. It needs food, knowledge, training, development. If these needs are not supplied there will be but little to differentiate that man's child from his brute.

Any economic or social system which compels a human being to grow up in the darkness of ignorance, is a disgrace to any country, a crime against humanity, and a stench in the nostrils of the Almighty.

4. Lastly, the working-man should receive such a reward of his labor as will enable him, with reasonable economy, to lay up something for his support in old age.

Every true man's heart is touched by the natural infirmities and sorrows of an old man. The hoary locks, the unsteady step, the palsied hand, the dim eyes, and tremulous voice, plead for our tenderest sympathy. But how much deeper should be our commiseration when to these are added the woes of abject poverty.

Now, I say that any industrial or social system which dooms any class of people to the humiliation and wretchedness of extreme poverty in their old age, deserves all the reprobation that virtuous men and a holy God can visit upon it.

In every city of this land you may find an army of aged and helpless paupers, whose poverty is not traceable to idleness nor to dissipation, but to the selfish and unrighteous treatment of the men whom they have enriched by their faithful and life long toils.

You will admit that these are the rights of labor. But will you help to enforce them? Too many are ready to say,

“Your theory is true and right, but it cannot be put into practice, and therefore it is a waste of time to discuss it.” We are constantly tempted to settle down to the idea that as things are and have been, so they must continue to be. It requires a good degree of heroism to hold fast to an ideal in the face of seemingly insuperable difficulties. But that is what we must do if we would not abandon the world to remediless ruin. If we think things cannot be different from what they are, we but add so much to the dead inertia of the world which keeps things as they are. But if we hold to our ideal and refuse to succumb, we make ourselves part of the forces which will by and by change things for the better.

Let us keep up our faith. Let us hold on to our discontent, nurse it, fan it into a mighty flame, and spread it throughout the land.

Something can be done. We can make things different from what they are and have been.

You agree with me as to the rights of labor. What can be done in helping to secure these rights? Three things we can do.

1. We can, on every appropriate occasion, firmly and solemnly assert these rights. To be silent is virtually to consent to the wrongs and miseries that are inflicted every day upon the sons and daughters of toil. Dare to speak out what you believe and feel, and it will keep alive the public conscience, and make the oppressor pause and think.

2. We can set an example of fair dealing. If we employ labor, let us in the most practical way show our respect for its rights. Let us demonstrate the truth that a man can deal justly with his employes and still live and prosper. Let us establish a real brotherhood with all who are in our service. Let us run the race, not against them but with them. Let us treat them as co-workers and partners. Make them feel that our business

is their business, and that whatever they do to increase the prosperity of the business will be duly recognized and rewarded.

3. Lastly, we can demand the interposition of government for the protection of the rights of labor. The government is the creature of the people, and is supposed to be responsive to the will of the people. Let all fair-minded and humanity-loving men who employ labor, join these oppressed millions in saying to our law-makers, "Put the iron fist of governmental power upon the tyrants and stop their oppressions."

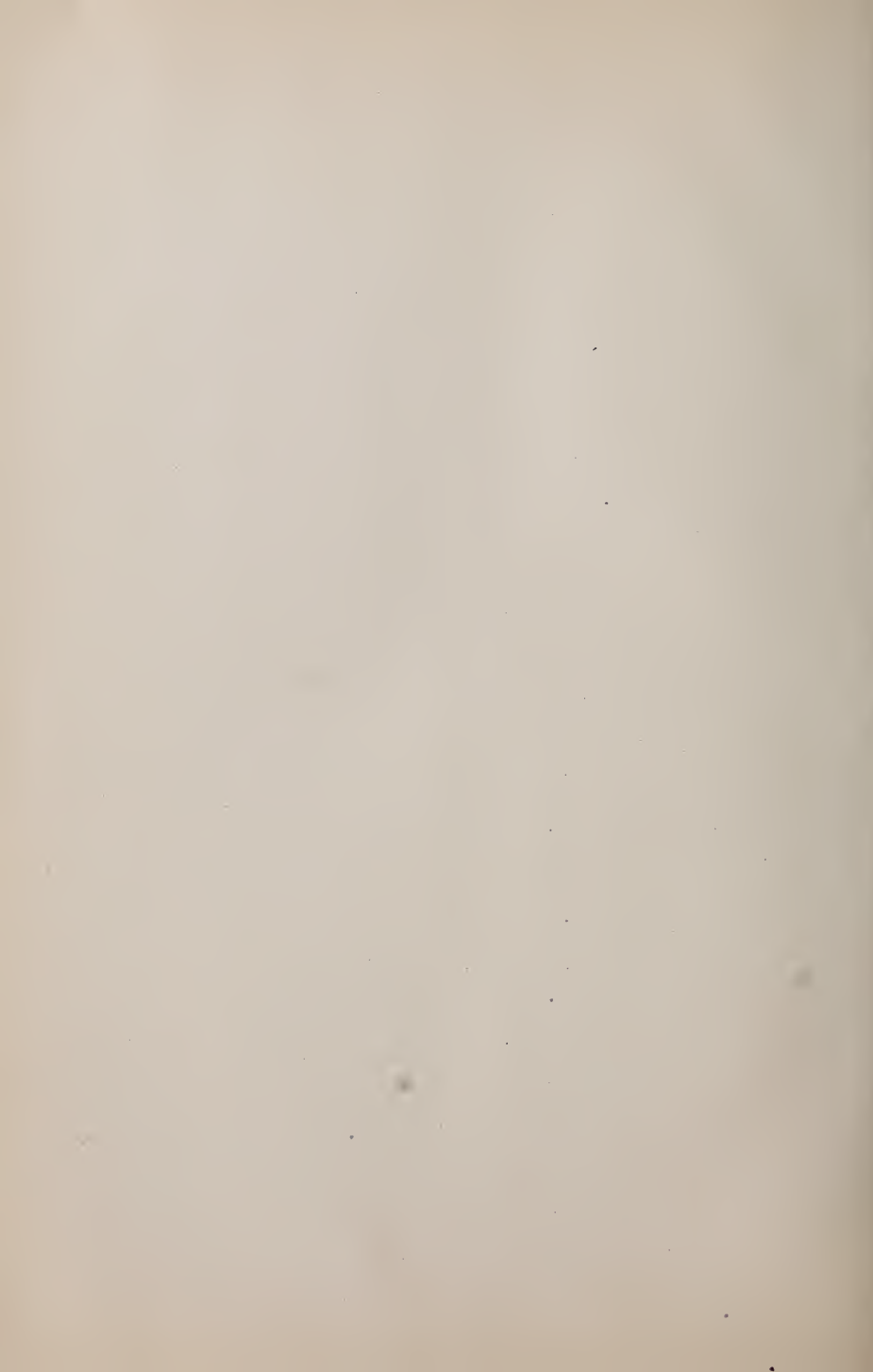
I have no sympathy whatever with Edward Bellamy's extreme paternalism. I admire the truly philanthropic spirit which inspired his dream. I am almost bewitched by his picture of that ideal time when men shall be wholly freed from care for the morrow, and left with no more concern for their livelihood than the trees which are watered by the unfailing streams; but that this state of things

can be brought about by making the government the only property-holder and employer of labor, is too absurd to be worthy of our serious thought.

All that government can do and ought to do, is to protect and enforce the rights of labor. Let it step in with its authority between capital and labor, and see that each gets its fair and just proportion of the profits of business. Let it abolish its iniquitous protective tariff, which enlarges the wealth of the rich by increasing the poverty of the poor. Let its corrupt system of bounties and subsidies cease. Let its enormous and excessive taxation be reduced. Let its functions be limited, as they were intended by its founders to be, to the protection of life, liberty and property, and these problems which now vex and alarm us, will cease to exist. Capital will be secure and remunerative; labor will be prosperous, honored, contented and happy; the brightest dreams of our fathers will be realized, God will

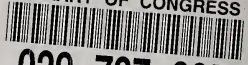
TARIFF AND LABOR QUESTIONS. 151

smile, angels sing, and men rejoice over a land where truth, justice, freedom and equality are sacred and inviolate.





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